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BELOW



VOL. 2



CALGARY, SEPT. 27, 1918

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No. 21

LIFE

Oh! I feel the growing glory
Of our life upon this sphere,
Of the life that like a river
Runs forever and forever,
From the somewhere to the here,
And still on and ~~on~~ flowing
Leads out to larger knowing,
Through the hidden, to the clear.

And I feel a deep thanksgiving
For the sorrows I have known;
For the worries and the crosses,
And the grieving and the losses.
That along my path were sown.
Now the great Eternal meaning
Of each trouble I am gleaming,
And the harvest is my own.

I am opulent with knowledge
Of the Purpose and the Cause,
And I go my way rejoicing,
And in singing seek the voicing
Of love's never failing laws.
From the now, unto the yonder
Full of beauty and of wonder,
Life flows ever without pause.

And I feel the exultation
Of a child that loves its play,
Though the ranks of friends are
thinning,
Still the end is but beginning
Of a larger, fuller day,
And the joy of life is spilling
From my spirit, as all willing
I go speeding on my way.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

* * *

STARTING A FARMERS' DAILY

It is expected the first issue of the Ontario farmers' newspaper will be made the first of the year. Stock selling is being actively carried on and when \$100,000 has been subscribed active work in starting the paper will be commenced.

THINGS WE HATE TO THINK ABOUT

The Kaiser's speech to K-r-upp workmen.

Shaughnessy's opinion of nationalized railways.

Tax-exempted land and tax-exempted bonds.

The Cross borne by the Alberta government.

The Democracy the Herald fights for!

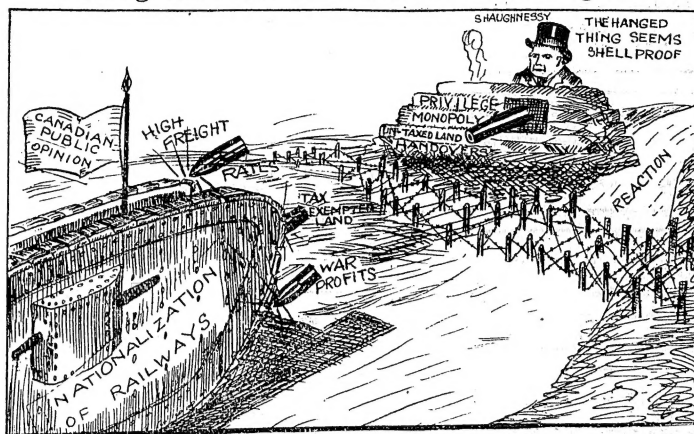
Alberta farmers paying Fort William freight rates on wheat sent to Calgary.

Canadian railways making private profits, while British and American lines serve their country.

FARMERS CUT LOOSE FROM OLD PARTY TIES

The Weekly Sun of Toronto says that a striking feature of the Convention of the United Farmers of New Brunswick was a standing vote pledging those present to cut loose from old party affiliations and to stand by independent men and measures for the farmers' interest. Many of those present had in the past been actively identified with party machines but standing to their feet as one man they pledged themselves to drop the thing and to vote in future for right and righteousness. It was a sight to inspire anyone who has the farmers' movement at heart.

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CURRENT HISTORY

Fraternal Greetings

Brethren dwell together in unity, said the Scripture. Well, they are obeying the injunction fairly well. Here are a few recent testimonials in regard to that great cure-all, the Union Government.

The Herald says: "We believe Union Government is the best government Canada has ever had and we feel sure that if the people had the proper information as to its record they would be almost unanimous in agreeing with this assertion."

The Albertan a few days later said:—"After all the venomous criticism of the Union Government, and some of it was deserved, it has done more in shorter time than any preceding government, not excepting the Laurier administration at the beginning."

In the same issue Senator Taylor, a high protectionist manufacturer from Eastern Canada delivers himself of the opinion that the Unionist Government is the best thing that ever happened. No doubt figuring it out on the basis that fleas are a good thing for dogs, it keeps them from worrying about being dogs. Anyway the mysterious unanimity is remarkable.

* * *

Oh, Thomas, Dear!

Thos. Shaughnessy,—and Heaven forgive us for mentioning him again,—is out with the idea that bonds should not be taxed or should not be subject to taxation. Marvellous! Where did Sir Thomas get the idea? The balance sheet of the C.P.R. shows assets of \$986,768,543.90. This is one non-taxable incubus in Canada and Sir Thomas says: "Good, why not have another? Those who defend the present position of the C.P.R. in regard to taxation tell us that it was given the privilege in the old days when people did not know any better but the singular thing is that people to-day defend the same sort of thing in regard to the present exemption of war bonds. Stranger still it is the same sort of people—none other—just those to whom the idea of privilege is a perpetual conception they have no other ideas.

The Wooden Head

Chief offender in this regard permit me to mention the Calgary Herald. No more mealy mouthed apostrophe breathes the breath of life. The Herald stays so pat with the things that are that a new idea could never enter its wooden head or cross its vacuous mind. A few days ago it wrote with horror of Lenine and Trotsky actually selling out to the Germans. As if the idea of the leaders of a political party selling out was something entirely new

and unheard of before. The Herald's idea is a stone wall at daybreak for all those who do not agree with it, but Czars since Peter the Great down to the present day have tried that scheme and it has never worked. The Herald might work it with greater ability—but it's open to question—some other means had better be tried. Also the Herald wants to send the Socialists to jail and suggests that the sentence given Debs was too light.

The Remedy for the Bolshevik

What is the remedy for the spirit of unrest to-day? Can it be cured by the jail, the thumb screw and the rack? We think not! Such things never have served to aid humanity. The way out is reform. Rabid Toryism as reflected in the Herald should see this and act accordingly. The elastic defence—the retreat to victory is the only way for the stand pat element to-day. They should prepare to give way with a fair measure of rapidity—because humanity is no longer going to stand for such murderous exhibits of individualism as we see exhibited on every hand to-day. It is reform or—God only knows what will happen and the wait-and-see policy will have to give place to the program of action and that before long.

* * *

The Delectable Trinity

We have been favored by a visit from Newton Wesley Rowell, who delivered a school-boy address about the things we all knew about the war. N. W. R. is probably the best hated man in the Canadian Parliament—also he is not trusted. At the last session the Hon. Mr. Murphy made a few remarks about him (?) and this seems an appropriate time to reproduce them. Mr. Murphy said:—

Now let us see what the Hon. gentleman's record is with regard to sacrifices. Briefly stated, Sir, it is this: that while he (Newton Wesley Rowell) preaches the gospel of sacrifice for others, he has consistently garnered and pocketed the fruits of selfishness for himself. As you are doubtless aware, Sir, the cult of Commercialized Christianity, in Ontario at least, has been placed on the basis of an exact science. The three great exponents of that cult are John Wesley Allison, Joseph Wesley Flavell and Newton Wesley Rowell. Ego is their god, autos their creed and moi-meme their practice. In point of fact, Sir, they are the three great Canadian Sinn Feiners. In our political annals an infamous immortality was conferred on John Wesley Allison by my friend the present Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) in connection with fuses and

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shells. A like service was performed for Joseph Wesley Flavell by Food Commissioner O'Connor and Mr. George W. Kyte, late member for Richmond, N.S., in connection with bacon and eggs. And, Sir, it is my purpose to convince you and the country that Newton Wesley Rowell is well worthy of the place the public has assigned him as the third member of that delectable trinity.

Not to go further back than the days of the Ross Government in Ontario, it may be recalled that the Hon. gentleman was very active in his support of that administration, but his support entailed no sacrifice; quite the reverse. Through it he managed to secure an appointment as solicitor for the Government at the time that the loan of \$2,000,000 was made to the re-organized industries that Mr. F. H. Clergue had established at Sault Ste. Marie; and by reason of representing the Government he secured another solicitorship with one of the companies concerned in the reorganization, and he held the two positions at the same time. When obliged to give up one of these positions, he was replaced by his partner, Mr. Thomas Gibson. My information is that as the result of his supporting the Ontario Government of the day and of his securing the positions mentioned, the Hon. member for Durham increased his savings by an amount in excess of \$100,000 within a period of four or five years. But the exact date is immaterial; so also is the length of time during which it was accumulated. The material thing is that it cannot be pretended that the Hon. gentleman's active support of the Ross Government entailed any sacrifice on his part.

Now, Sir, what happened when the honorable gentleman entered the Provincial field of politics? With his usual presence of mind he arranged with his friends to form a committee for the purpose of raising a fund to guarantee him against any loss while engaged in his work as Provincial leader. Mr. A. E. Ames, of Toronto, was chairman of the committee, and in addition to Sir Joseph Flavell, the contributors included several other Toronto gentlemen. The fund itself was called the "Secretarial Fund" and I am informed that it varied in amount from \$9,000 to \$11,000 a year. Again, the exact amount raised in any one year is immaterial; the point it establishes is that as Provincial leader the honorable member for Durham was protected against any sacrifice whilst he retained that position. In other words, the honorable gentleman had placed his political services on precisely the same basis as that on which Sir Joseph Flavell while Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board, sold bacon for the soldiers to the British Government, namely, that the bacon would be supplied only after he had

secured an undertaking to indemnify his company against all loss. Truly, Sir, it is perfectly wonderful how Commercialized Christianity sharpens a man's sense of business.

A little over a year ago the honorable member for Durham and his press agent paid a visit to the battlefield. The trip was well advertised, as my honorable friend the Minister of Customs (Mr. Sifton) will recall. The member for Durham got many cable mentions out of it, but did he pay the expenses of the trip? Not he. The expenses were paid by the honorable gentleman's Toronto friends, who contributed, I am told, a sum in the neighborhood of \$3,750 for the purpose. Once again there was no sacrifice on the part of the honorable member for Durham.

Without multiplying illustrations, it may be said that the contributions of Sir Joseph Flavell and others to the honorable gentleman's several funds were made for the purpose of advertising, financing and placing the honorable gentleman on the political market in precisely the same way as Sir Joseph Flavell advertises, finances and places his bacon and eggs on the commercial market. There was no sacrifice of any kind involved; it was simply a matter of business—of cool, calculating business, at that. Therefore I submit that it scarcely lies in the mouth of the member for Durham to attack the people of a whole province for their lack, or alleged lack, of sacrifice.

To this attack Rowell never replied. It killed him politically but he took it. Took it lying down like a whipped cur—took it because he had to take it—and yet he still forms a part of the Union Government and the members of the Board of Trade cheer him. Well, they are welcome to their company. Let's go out and have a drink—butter-milk, of course, thank you.—The Wanderer.

*See Hansard of March 19th, 1918, for full report of Mr. Murphy's speech on Newton Wesley Rowell.

NEW LEADERSHIP REQUIRED

Opposition to the political truce arranged by Premier Hearst and Mr. Proudfoot in the Manitoulin Bye-Election in Ontario is solely the work of the organized farmers of Manitoulin.

The way is now clear for the assumption of the duties of leadership by an organization that has something clear-cut to offer a mass of disorganized electors anxiously looking for real leadership. Organized farmers may well form the vanguard of the wider organization for which there is need, but they should seek to ally with them all other progressive, democratic elements. And the first plank in the platform of the new organization should be, "See Canada First."—The Toronto Sun.

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THE FATE OF THE GRAIN GROWERS

A man, very wise in the ways of the world, has said that there is more hope of getting social reform from the hands of those who have come to wealth by inheritance, than from any other class. The statement is hardly true and the "last ditchers" of the House of Lords in England furnish a splendid example of its untruth, and yet there is some ground for the assertion.

The new rich feel too keenly the pains of the past—the poor are too close to their daily struggles to make enquiries into fundamental conditions, which have a bearing upon the problem of the day, and the semi-rich, middle class, intent upon reaching the higher ring of life's competitive ladder exhibit a cold indifference—nothing else.

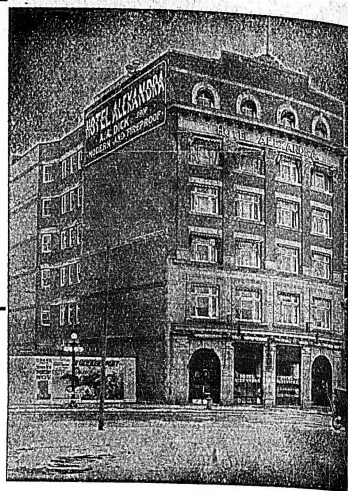
We are led to these remarks by noting the decline of the Grain Growers' organization with the past few years. By "decline" we refer of course, to the former position of this organization in the leadership of radical agrarian thought and its present position of negative indifference or office holding acquiescence. These factors, as we see it, contributed to the decline. In the first case the struggle was economic and purely so. The organization was bound together by the idea of securing better conditions of the shipping and marketing of its grain. Onerous and stupid regulations among railway and grain men give it birth and impetus. With a few distinguished exceptions neither its leaders nor the men who composed its membership had any motive higher than the egotistic one of improving their own position, or moulding political conditions so as to satisfy their own desires. For some time the organization did good work. Its political activities confined to its own immediate desires, brought much needed relief in many ways. Its decline began with the growth of its commercial spirit and the growing wealth of the corporation itself, and the individual members. \$2.25 wheat is a great solvent of dissatisfaction and a cabinet position or even a seat in Parliament takes the grey out of life's horoscope and gives an entirely different vision to the ordinary difficulties of life.

To-day the Grain Growers' Grain Co. is immensely wealthy. It makes big profits every year. It owns buildings and timber lands. It is the owner of a farm paper, once a faithful—and forceful fighter against privilege—now a careful positional-sparrer wholly devoted to the great task of keeping an appearance of fight so as to preserve its constituency from taking alarm while the manufacturing interests feed its advertising columns and its coffers wax fat with dividends. For some years the

Canadian Manufacturers' Association maintained a paper in Winnipeg to feed soporifics to the farmer but its support has now been withdrawn—it is no longer needed. Years ago the Toronto News, the pet organ of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association ventured the confident prediction that with increasing wealth the organization of the Grain Growers would swing into the right column. Its prediction has come true with remarkable celerity. The "Guide" may continue for years to put up the sham fight but to all intents and purposes it—is as hopeless and harmless as the Toronto Globe.

The political insight of the organization has been singularly astigmatic. Swept off its feet by the cry of "win the war" it conceived that the only way to accomplish the task was to surrender all its former ideals and go it blind in a combination with the most reactionary elements in both of the old political parties. The surrender was complete. Not one single concession was asked for nor given. The men who organized the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the leaders in its new branch, the Canadian Reconstruction outfit of which Mr. Willison, the Edward Carson of Canada is the leader—swallowed the farmers' organizations with a gulp and even taunted them by saying: "We told you so." Of course, like all other seekers of special privilege their shield and defence is their patriotism. They did it to "win the war". Were ever such heights of egotism scaled before? Imagine that once quiet and inoffensive farmer boy, Mr. Crerar deciding that his help was badly needed to win the war—his help in the cabinet of course. No conception of political action existed in their minds. Caught in the mad mob psychology of the moment they went as blindly to their fate as the mob which "saved the Empire" in 1911. These men can never again protest about the patriotic persiflage of the manufacturers. They took the bait and must expect to stay caught by the hook.

Naturally enough they have some strange explanations for the untimely death of their radical ideals. One is that they went over to the Unionists camp because they had no other place to go. Like the boy who went wrong, the bar room tempted him and he could not resist. But the independent course could have been taken. These leaders of the Grain Growers were supposed to be Democrats. It was not necessary for them to be led by the two aristocratic parties of Canada. They could have taken the stand which Labor took upon the occasion and have acted with independence. It would have been a much needed confession of faith and something of a light unto the people. Politically today the Unionist Grain Growers combination in parliament is hopeless. It is an organization in which every Democratic



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instinct is strangled and in which genuine agrarian reform has not the chance of the proverbial snowball. The hope for the future lies in the farmers themselves—not in their so called leaders. It is doubtful if they have become so reactionary in their feelings, as their leadership would seem to indicate. Saving some difficulties which should be capable of settlement, the Labor element in the community should be able to combine with the progressive section of the farmers forming a Union of enduring strength and considerable capacity for action. With this accomplished the past leaders of the farmers movement would continue to align themselves with the Unionist-Tory combination destined to be one of the reactionary parties of Canada and new leaders arising among the farmers and laboring men may in time give a new orientation to political thought and action in the West.

—C. L. CARP

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There is no wealth but life. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings.—Ruskin.

LAND FOR SOLDIERS

At last it has been announced by the Hon. Mr. Calder that the Government is consid-

ering a plan that will provide land for the returned soldiers, and that this plan will include the expropriation of idle land at present in the hands of speculators. It is high time that the returned soldier should find access to the land he has fought for, and we are glad to know that the Government has abandoned its intention of sending him into the back woods to find it. But we cannot help feeling a little suspicious of Mr. Calder's announcement, and must wait for subsequent events to justify or condemn our suspicions.

We are looking forward with keen interest to the disclosing of the Government's plans of expropriation. The leopard does not change his spots neither does the land speculator change his mind on the profit question. If the speculator has consented to make a deal with the Government (and no doubt he has or the Government would not be talking about expropriation), it is very likely that his profits are sure. It is not expected that there will be much increase in our population by immigration for some time after the war. In consequence there will not be much demand for land, so that if the land companies can sell their lands to the Government instead of holding it indefinitely they would be the gainers by the transaction.

What is the Government going to pay for this land, and under what terms will it be given to the returned soldier? These are the important questions the answer to which we await with anxiety. If a speculator's

price be paid the soldier together with his fellow citizens will be taxed to make up that profit, and therefore a speculator's price must not be thought of. The Canadian people surely will not stand for the land speculator receiving any more for his (?) land than he has expended on it. The very utmost possible consideration would be to refund him the original price paid for the land, deducting the interest on capital expenditure for patriotic purposes. If the land shark is let off at this he may account himself lucky, to give him more will mean that the soldiers will not get a square deal.

* * *

DANGERS OF GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

Baron Shaughnessy while admitting that we are on the eve of Government ownership of railways rises to speak against it on the grounds of morality, and intimates grave dangers from the venture. The interview of the Baron published recently in the daily press dealing with the railway question reminds us of the Kaiser's speech made to the workmen at Krupp's munition works. There is the same tone of arrogance, the same spirit of domination, and the same appeal to a rotten morality. The German workmen it is reported, responded whole-heartedly to the appeal of the Kaiser with his "To battle, so help us God, Amen!" We wonder if the Canadian people will give another answer to Shaughnessy?

We agree with the Baron about the danger in nationalizing the railways of Canada. There is a grave danger and those exposed to it are Baron Shaughnessy and his associates in profiteering. The danger is that they will lose their privilege to monopolize an industry essential to the life and development of Canada. The Baron is quick to see the approaching storm and naturally screams with fear.

The second danger anticipated by the prophet of high finance is that the railways may be conducted on the basis of morality, i.e., service, instead of being run for profit. Since when has the C.P.R. been looked upon as the champion of morality? It has always worshipped the God of Gain, and its morality is a natural corollary of its philosophy. "If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!" is a fitting reply to Shaughnessy's talk about the morality of the C.P.R. We might transpose this saying in the following way:—If the morality that you follow be immorality, how immoral you are! The whole idea of individual profit-making is immoral, the principle of "Service" is moral, the people

want "Service" and Shaughnessy thinks it is dangerous.

Our advice to the Baron is, that he had better keep to finance in his voluntary advising of the Canadian people. When it comes to the question of public morality the masters of private enterprise better be silent.

* * *

TAX-EXEMPTION CRIME

Some of our Canadian knights of the unearned increment, and knights of the esteemed order of profiteers who cleared a few million dollars' profit on Ross rifles, shoddy boots, munitions and bacon, might have been subject to the income tax. To avert this and to increase the burden upon returned soldiers, and the common people in general, the Government asks these men to save their ill-gotten profits by investing in untaxable bonds at 5½%.

In answer to this the Finance Minister says:—"It is extremely improbable that we should derive more than one million. . . . additional revenue from the taxation of income derived from the body of securities." This means, of course, that the income tax is a fraud in so far as producing revenue is concerned. For if it can only bring a million on bond profits it will bring no more on any other profits. But even so, the profiteers must be saved even this little donation to the cause of freedom and democracy.

It is nothing short of a crime to permit this tax-exemption to go through and every possible means should be taken to prevent it.

* * *

PAYS TO CONTINUE THE WAR

It is clear that to those who have millions to invest in untaxable bonds for 20 years at 5½ per cent., the continuation of the war will be profitable. If \$500,000,000 should be required annually by the Government for war purposes, and this amount had to be raised by the present financial method it would be a boon to financiers.

No wonder that these men are "bitter-enders", they want to "fight to a finish, even to our last man." The necessity for enumerable Victory Bonds spells opportunity for the profiteer, for 5½ per cent. plus exemption is equal to from 10 to 15 per cent., according to some financial experts. It is fortunate that the people of Canada have discovered this to be "Privilege Bonds" the profits on which will be Canadian blood money, and let us hope that steps will be taken to make it impossible that any class or individual should profit by the continuation of war.

PATRIOTISM OF MONEY IN COMPARISON WITH MEN

The patriotism of our Canadian sons as evinced by their voluntary response to the call to arms, and as shown by their heroic efforts on the fields of Flanders has been a noble self-sacrificing devotion worthy of the gratitude of our nation. In keeping with the devotion of the soldier has been the whole-hearted service of the Canadian people who while suffering in heart, did not hesitate to shoulder the great burden of extra work and thrift which the war entailed.

The only blot on the "White papers" of Canada has been dropped by the profiteers, and a Government which is so lacking in moral courage as to be afraid to carry the spirit of patriotism into the country's finance. Unashamed in the presence of the heroic services of the common people the money kings of Canada refuse to finance the war unless they get tax-exemption and 5½ per cent. interest on their investment. This means that those who have profited most by the war will escape the income tax by buying Victory Bonds, and will continue not only to hold their gains but to make war profits for 20 years after the war.

All the men we have are now at the disposal of the military authorities. If the progress of the war be retarded henceforth the blame must be put upon those who control the wealth necessary in the successful waging of war. What of "standing by the boys at the Front" now? They want munitions, food, clothing, and all necessary equipment, but the wealth created by the Canadian people available for this purpose is refused, unless the soldier undertakes to pay 5½ per cent. for its use, return every penny of it again, and pay something extra to allow for a tax-exemption on it.

The wise thing to do is to use Canadian wealth in support of the boys at the front. The finance minister assures us that enough wealth has been made in Canada to pay for the war, with a considerable margin besides. If this is so why not pay for the war? The Government would be well advised to act with courage in this matter while it has the opportunity. If Premier Borden was afraid to meet the boys who come back unless he supported conscription of men, he had better take a little of his own pre-election advice and tax all profits 100 per cent. It is only when the reasonable and practical are refused that public opinion swing even to the extent of the unreasonable and impracticable. To pay for the war as we go is practicable,

and it is reasonable, if this course is denied by those in authority they may have to answer to the returned men in a manner that may be neither practicable nor reasonable.

* * *

THIRTY YEARS FOR DEBS

The news that Eugene V. Debs has been sentenced to thirty years in the penitentiary in the United States comes to thousands of Canadian citizens as a severe moral shock. That Debs has been one of the greatest champions of Democracy in this age will not be questioned by any one acquainted with his career of devotion to the workers' cause, and that he should be sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment for giving utterance to his convictions in a country that is fighting for democracy is almost beyond acceptance.

It is one of the saddest tragedies of this great war that the countries that have made democracy their slogan in the overthrow of Roman militarism should have borrowed the "Iron heel" of Germany as a means of accomplishing their purpose. This above everything else serves to cast doubt in the minds of patriotic citizens as to the sincerity of those who claim that we are fighting for freedom, humanity and democracy. Let Debs be tried in the light of America's confessed devotion to these principles and we doubt not that he would come out victorious. There is something in any country that imprisons the man who stands for its confessed ideals.

The remark of Debs immediately after the pronouncement of sentence—"In God's good time it will all come right," is prophetic, and the revolution of feeling on the part of his fellow citizens which is bound to come will hasten "God's good time." The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church, so will the persecution of honest patriots like Debs be the most fertile seeds of Democracy. It was not good wisdom on the part of the United States officials to imprison the acknowledged leader of the radical movement in that country. The same old principle applied by the sage to the would-be persecutors of the early Christians holds good in this case. If what Debs said be "truth" then the United States authorities have adopted the best way to spread it, if his utterances were false they would have died a natural death, while in this way they have been strengthened by sympathy for Debs, and the publicity which his trial secured. The issue at stake would have been perfectly safe if entrusted to the intelligence of the common people of the United States.

If the people cannot be trusted to weigh the utterances of Debs or any other man, then democracy is a failure and not worth fighting for.

Debs will not serve his term in the penitentiary. Public opinion will force his release, and justify his honor long before that time expires. If this is not so, the worker does not deserve to be served by a man like Eugene V. Debs. President Wilson said in one of his recent speeches that—"The most patriotic man is sometimes the man who goes in the direction that he thinks right even when he sees half the world against him." If the President has not changed his mind on this question he may interest himself in the release of just such a patriot as he himself describes.

* * *

NEW BRUNSWICK FARMERS URGE TAXES ON WAR BONDS

At the New Brunswick United Farmers' Convention recently held the following resolution advocating Taxes on War Bonds was passed:—

Taxes On War Bonds

"Whereas, it is reported the people of Canada will very soon be called upon to loan our Government twelve hundred million dollars more to carry on the war to the end of the year;

"And whereas the immense sum, added to our former public debts, and probably future war loan as well, will saddle our patriotic people for many decades to come, with almost unbearable taxes, however equitable such taxes may be levied on our several industries, and our different classes of people;

"And whereas the greater part of this loan must necessarily come from our wealthy people and our millionaires, because farmers and laborers have little or no ready cash for investment;

"Therefore, be it resolved, that this association of farmers unanimously protest against the exemption from taxes of any more war bonds that may be issued now or later on.

"Because such exemption from domestic taxation will result in largely relieving the most of our wealthiest people from their just share of making good the fearful cost of winning the war, while on the other hand such exemption of these large sums of money, belonging to the rich, must necessarily double the burdens which the farmers and laborers must carry, driving more and more people off the land, and further increasing the cost of living for the masses of people."

Other resolutions urged the Government to consult the organization on all matters affecting the farmers' interest; that the Government buy all hay required direct from farmers instead of through produce dealers and paying large commissions; that the leave granted to soldiers to assist in the harvest be appreciated and also appreciation of the fact that the Government had decided not to run any harvest excursion to Western Canada as all the help available would be needed in the Maritime Provinces during the present season.

Our Ottawa Letter

From Our Own Correspondent

THE PERILS OF IMPERIAL PREFERENCE



sufficed to bury the project in oblivion. It is noticeable that Sir Robert Borden, the Premier of the most important Dominion who was at one time a keen exponent of the idea has now given the new proposals a very guarded reception, which will doubtless infuriate General Page Croft and the Morning Post. Possibly Sir Robert has a vivid recollection of the strenuous days of 1911 when a hundred patriot voices and cables urged him day by day across the dividing seas to resist with all his might and ability the fell pollution of trade reciprocity with the U.S.A. We were then told that free trade in grain between Canada and the United States spelt the death-knell of Imperial preference and destroyed the cornerstone of the whole Tariff Reform edifice. Sir Robert is now well aware that by the act of his own cabinet free trade in grain exists between the two North American countries, and as his Unionist majority comes from the Western provinces which gave a huge majority for the Taft-Fielding agreement in 1911, and regard reciprocity as indispensable to their economic welfare he is unlikely to abrogate it. He is also now acutely aware in common with most Canadians of the economic interdependence of Canada upon her southern neighbour for coal and other supplies. Canada needs vast sums of money for her schemes of future development and London is no longer likely to be the bounteous fountain of wealth that she was. Canadian governments, municipalities and firms are beginning to look for funds to New York and Chicago, and thither their steps will be turned in increasing degree. "No truck or trade with the Yankees" is a grim and sorry legend and shrewd observers believe that the arrogant chauvinism of the reciprocity campaign of 1911 has much to answer for in America's lukewarmness towards Britain and her allies during the early years of the war, but one thing is certain that it can never be repeated and Canadians will scan with jealous eyes and schemes which may tend to disturb economic harmony and co-operation between themselves and the U.S.A. Apart from this political difficulty the old dilemma persistently abides. Preference is useless to the Canadian farmer unless it raises prices, and yet its sponsors in Britain have always declared that a tax on Colonial food stuffs will never raise prices. As far as manufactures are concerned the Canadian high tariff, if it secures the home market, is an effectual damper upon any export trade. The Canadian Preference, about which infinite nonsense has been talked, was devised by the Laurier Government as a halfhearted redemption of free-trade pre-election pledges and was chiefly intended to relieve the Canadian consumer. The writer was

recently informed by a prominent ex-official of the Customs department at Ottawa, who is possibly the foremost authority on tariffs in Canada, and has made a special study of the preference, that the preference has failed even in this object. The exporting manufacturers in each line in England are limited in number and easily form combinations to raise prices exactly to the level of those offered by their Canadian and American rivals. The manufacturers of Canada and other Dominions have even great experience and skill in forming combines and trusts, and there is little doubt that if they find it possible to enter British markets via the proposed preference they will exercise that skill to the detriment of the British consumer. Transportation companies, too, have acquired the art of filching a certain share of preferential plunder. Therefore until prices are definitely fixed both in Britain and the Dominions and freight rates sternly regulated the sole result of the preference system will be to subsidize a few steamship companies and greedy capitalists.

When London was the predominant financial centre of the world, there was some slight chance of creating artificial channels of trade leading in her direction, but the possibility is now dim and lessens every day that the war continues. No one knows better than Sir Robert Borden of the new orientation in Canadian opinion in regard to economic and political questions and relations with the U.S.A. But few people realise how dangerous the Imperial preference game might really be to British trade. Its basic idea is that all countries owing allegiance to a certain form of government, the British constitutional monarchy should give a trade preference to one another. But the game can be played by other people. Supposing President Wilson and the American people, whose policy Imperial Preference deliberately flouts were to endorse the idea of mutual preferences, in trade between countries favoring a republican form of government, would the British trading and financial community relish the prospect. Would they like to find themselves discriminated against in an economic system which would include besides the U.S.A. and France, practically all S. America, China, Russia and divers minor states? Would they find any adequate compensation in the markets of our Dominions whose protectionist system would be stiffened by Britain's conversion to tariffs. Before any definite decisions is reached on this most complicated problem on the ipse dixit of demagogues like Mr. Hughes, let there be full consideration of the possible consequences.

—BYSTANDER

SEND THE RANK AND FILE FARMER TO PARLIAMENT

A speaker at an Ontario Farmers' meeting in advocating sending farmers to Parliament, said it should not be the wealthy ones, but the man who is plowing in his field this week and who would be ready to go next week. After the war there would be four political parties in Canada: the old Conservative and Liberal parties, the Great War Veterans, and the Farmers. A strong argument was advanced in favor of a farmers' paper which would have the farmers' interests at heart and speak for it.



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The Non-Partisan Movement

A BOOK REVIEW

By James Weir, M.L.A.



One of the most interesting books that has come to hand recently is a volume published "By order of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta," entitled, "Public Accounts for the Year Ended Dec. 31st, 1917." It isn't a novel nor a love story. It contains no pathos, nor blue fire. There isn't a tragedy in every chapter, but it's interesting and fascinating nevertheless.

It covers an election year in the Province and gives the reader as much insight as he may expediently be permitted to have into the methods adopted to carry out the Great British principle of the Government, namely: "What we have we hold." The chapter dealing with the travelling expenses of ministers is one which will particularly charm and delight the reader, not because of any special coloring of the author but as showing the variety of mentalities and moralities that it takes to make up a Cabinet in Alberta in these days of stress and storm.

The author assures us in his record that during the year Archie McLean spent in travel \$394.00; Duncan Marshall \$700.65; John R. Boyle, \$735.90; C. R. Mitchell, \$812.12; Charlie Stewart, \$835.40; C. W. Cross, \$989.45; Wilfred Gariepy, \$1,959.15 and A. L. Sifton, \$2,954.00. Not desiring to take any liberties with the author's record, the readers of THE NON-PARTISAN must make their own comments.

The same gentlemen during the year drew in salaries, \$50,451.65, according to the story, and in seasonal indemnities, \$14,500. The total cost of the Civil Government of the Province was \$583,496.00, or just a little over a dollar a head for every man, woman and child in it, and the session of the Legislature absorbed \$123,752.12, and would have been fairly cheap at half the money. The proportion of this amount that went to the I.W.W.'s in the House is not set out in detail but one remarkable circumstance should not escape notice and that is that the poorest paid male persons in the list of employees are the returned Veterans who as doorkeepers received anywhere from \$10.00 up to \$105.00.

Administration of Justice in the Province cost \$646,993.67, and the record shows that there are as many hangers-on and whippers-in and party vermin within the sacred precincts of the Courts of Justice as in any other branch of the maladministration from which this innocent Province suffers. But the Department of Public Works report in the book is in a class by itself. It contains the appropriations for roads and bridges and ferries, etc., during an election year in this Province. The items of many of them run thus:—

Road, S. of 59-17-18-19 W. 4—
Pay list.....\$229.65

This is a sample of hundreds of items under this department and I'm ready to gamble that there isn't a minister in the Province (and this includes the late dear Premier—the dearest premier any province ever had), who can go through this Public Works list and unravel intelligently each

item contained in it without finishing up a drivelling idiot.

The total expenditure for the year in the Department on capital account was \$1,081,117.05. This will do for this issue. In a future number I will continue the review of this great author's work as it refers to the expenses under the Election Act and the other departments.

Why the Freight Rate?

Some time ago that high-brow organization known as the Grain Supervisors' Board, made an order forbidding the shipment of wheat out of Alberta until the needs of the Province were met. Then we began to thresh and haul in our wheat. Some of my neighbors got to asking pointed questions, as all farmers are getting into the habit of doing these days. What they particularly wanted to know was why they were paying 19 cents a bushel freight on wheat to Fort William, that was not going to Fort William? And by order of the high-brows must not, shall not, can not, and will not go to Fort William?

Personally, it had not struck me that way. All the ideas I try to promulgate do not originate with me. Some of the clearest thinking on economic questions and problems affecting the producers here and everywhere is done by fellows in jeans, and I've heard more sound sense spoken while clinging to the side of a grain tank listening to three or four hay-makers than I've heard from the "Seats of the Mighty" in this country. So, after thinking it over I decided to wire the Chairman of the Grain Supervisors' Board protesting against the farmer paying for a service he never received. This is the message sent:

Dr. R. H. McGill,
Chairman Grain Supervisors' Board,
Winnipeg.

Vigorously protest on behalf of self and other Alberta farmers against paying freight rate on wheat to Fort William when by order of your Board wheat must not be shipped out of the Province. Utmost we should pay is freight to Calgary terminal or milling points in Alberta.

JAMES WEIR, M.L.A.,
Parkland.

Now I am informed the Doctor is East and perhaps that accounts for not yet having received an answer. Of course, the same old bunk is and will be handed out about the freight being fixed basis Fort William and "it always has been so," etc., etc. If what always has been is always going to be, what is this war about? What are we educating our children for? What is the Grain Supervisors' Board for, and what are several other fors for? If we send wheat to the Calgary mill we pay the freight. If we get flour from the the Calgary mill we pay the freight and something to the grocer besides. Now that is in itself a case of Heads the miller wins, Tails the farmer loses, but in the name of common sense why have we to pay freight to Fort William on wheat we are "verboten" to send there and which only goes to Calgary?

The Board's action reminds one of the boy with his pants on wrong side, he didn't know whether he was going to school or going home. There's this difference however, they do know how to make the original producer, the farmer, pay both ways. It's a basic principle of both law and equity that a man shall get value for that for which he pays and that he should

Non Partisan Conventions

DIDSBURY

At Didsbury, on Thursday, Oct. 10th, in the Public Hall, at 4 p.m. for the purpose of organizing the Didsbury Constituency for Democracy.

Mass Meeting at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. L. C. McKinney, M.L.A. (of Claresholm), and Wm. Irvine (of Calgary).

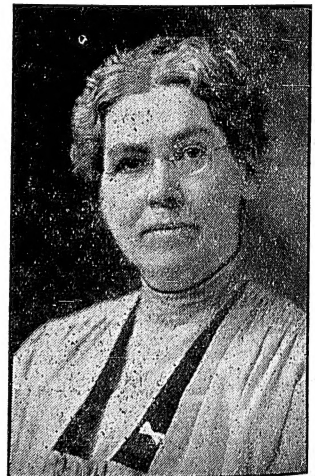
INNISFAIL

At Innisfail, on Friday, Oct. 11th, in the Methodist Church, at 3 p.m. To organize the Innisfail Constituency.

Mass Meeting at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. L. C. McKinney, M.L.A. and Wm. Irvine.

B. C. Moore, Organizer for the League, will open Conventions and arrange details.

Farmers and Farmers' Wives, you are earnestly requested to attend and help formulate and make the democracy for which your boys are fighting. Get your neighbors to come with you.



Mrs. L. C. McKinney, M.L.A.

not pay for a service never rendered. One feels kind of foolish in having to argue the question and how the farmers have stood for this thing all these years surpasses understanding. Of course the order now given not to ship from the province makes it appear in the raw as it never did before.

Just imagine anyone going over to the C.P.R. and saying to the Baron who was in Calgary a day or so ago: "See here, Tom, we want you to pay for building a mile of track at Nanton." "But," says Sir Tom, "you didn't build it!" "Of course we didn't build it, neither did you haul our wheat to Fort William, yet we paid the freight. What is the difference between our paying you for freight you never hauled and you paying us for track we never laid?" And Tom says: "Say fellows, I don't believe I got that freight, just you nose around a bit and see if the miller isn't the fellow that got most or all of it." Our reply is: "What has the miller got to do with C.P.R. freight rates?" And the Baron replies: "It is a nice day. I'm sorry the crops are short this year, but better luck next. Good-Bye!"

Meantime, what has the U.F.A. Executive done, or is doing, or is going to do in all this? The president is, I believe, a member of the Grain Supervisors' Board.

—JAS. WEIR.

DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT

By John Glambeck, Milo, Alberta,
Secretary Queenstown U.F.A.



Some time ago in an argument with a neighbour over joining the Non-Partisan League, he urged, among other things, that while it looked alright in theory it did not seem to work out good in practice, and pointed out that farmers and members of organized labor had been elected to

Parliament and to other Government jobs now and then, and had not proved to be any better than the representatives we have now. There may be others holding these same views and I would like to point out a few things that will put the situation in a different light.

It's true that farmers have been elected to Parliament and who have not done any great things for the benefit of the farming class. There were farmer members from Alberta and the West in the House of Commons at Ottawa, and in the Cabinet too, last session and none stirred even a finger to get a hearing for their fellow farmers who went there to present their case to the Government last spring. But it must not be forgotten that these men were elected as Party men, as Unionists or Liberals and not as Farmers. These men were perhaps representative men in their own locality and controlled a lot of votes. It no doubt cost them quite a bit to get elected and naturally they tried to get that back when the chance presented itself. Whenever any question came up with any bearing on the farmers' interest these men have to vote as their party machine dictated, if they did otherwise their party career would soon be finished. The same thing applies to the local legislatures.

The Non-Partisans are of a different breed altogether. They are men and

THE WRONG PARTY IN THE "SIEVE"



Our artist has cleverly shown the condition of affairs in Canada to-day. Jas. Weir says that freight rates to Fort William is being paid on wheat sent to Calgary, and it is a typical example of the advantage taken of the public on every possible occasion. When will the Great Canadian Public get hold of the "sieve and sift" the profiteer of his unholy gains? When?

women who have come to realize that the two old political parties are so entirely dominated by the big interests of the country that no legislation will be enacted for the farmers' benefit that will in any way interfere with the profits of those interests. The members meet in convention once a year and agree on methods and rules and regulations to run the organization in the most democratic manner. When an election approaches the members meet and nominate their candidate. And right here, different from the old parties, the office seeks the man and not the opposite. A number of men known by their neighbours and fellowmen to be good and true are put up for nomination and the one securing the most votes stands as the nominee.

During the election his campaign expenses are paid by those he seeks to represent and costs him nothing except the time and effort he devotes to the cause. When such a candidate has been elected he has nothing to get back and is under no obligation to either of the old party machines. Whenever any measure affecting the interests of the farmer comes up he is free to do his duty to those who sent him there. He knows absolutely what he is expected to do and has no excuse to use his vote otherwise than in the interest of his fellowmen.

Another very important thing—When the Non-Partisan candidate is nominated he has to sign his own recall, being a condition that if elected and at any time a majority of those who elected him becomes dissatisfied with his actions, or for any violation of the programme on which he was elected, and ask him to resign he shall immediately relinquish his position.

This more than anything else will keep the man straight. At any rate he could be a traitor only once, while your old party candidate can betray you time and again and you can't touch him no matter how hateful his actions are.

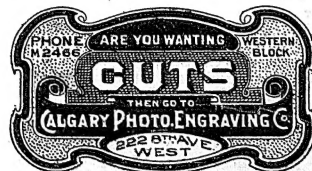
Now then, it appears to me that this is the most democratic sort of representation we can have and if we can't trust a man from our own ranks who himself knows where the shoe pinches, and the all-the-year-round struggle, the farmer has to pay his way, then we might as well return to the good old times when the King was the whole thing.

—JOHN GLAMBECK.

SENDING "DEAD ONES" TO PARLIAMENT

"The G.W.V.A. in Macleod have done what they could to stop these people (the Mennonites) coming in, but they are not strong numerically, and if this thing keeps up, no real veteran will want to live in that part of the country. They have received very little backing. The local member for the Provincial Parliament is a dead one, and they haven't seen their federal member since he was elected."

—The Alberta Veteran.



The Record of the Government.

Geo. H. Ross, K.C., Answers the Calgary Herald

"The Herald believes that the Union Government is the best Government Canada has ever had, and we feel sure that if the people had the proper information as to its record, they would be almost unanimous in agreeing with this assertion."

This is from a recent editorial in the Calgary Herald. Permit me to place before your readers the record of this Union Government.

The outstanding question at the present time is the prosecution of the war. Owing to certain of the many Orders-in-Council passed by the Unionists we are not allowed to criticize the Government's method of prosecuting the war, and I should be very reluctant to do so at the present time, even if criticism were permissible for the majority of those electors of Canada who were not disfranchised in the last election have decided that the Unionists should guide the ship of state for five years from the 17th day of December, 1917, and it is our duty as loyal citizens to accept that verdict and, rather than obstruct, do all we can to assist in the prosecution of the war, by assisting the Government in carrying on, according to its policy.

Aliens

Without being critical permit me to state the position of aliens in this country. The United States' method of treating her aliens is very different to Canada's. In the United States, American subjects of alien origin are treated in the same way as other American subjects. Conscription takes such aliens in the same way that it takes other Americans; all are treated alike. For this reason American subjects of alien origin are loyal to the American flag under which they have obtained and continue to enjoy their liberties, privileges and freedom on an equality with other American citizens.

In Canada, on the other hand, the Borden Government provided by the War Times Election Act that every naturalized British subject who was born in any European country, whether or not they are our allies, whose mother tongue is a language of an enemy country, and who was naturalized since the 31st day of March, 1902, also such of their sons as were not on the 17th day of December, 1917, twenty-one years of age are "exempt from combatant military and naval service." As a result of this British subjects of alien origin in Canada are not conscripted, but are left at home where they are amassing considerable wealth, while our Canadian boys and their dependents, in addition to suffering great hardships are seeing what little property they possess slipping away from them in being devoured by accumulating mortgage interest, taxes, etc., with the prospect of returning to Canada, lucky to obtain a job from these same people of alien origin.

The United States method is having the effect of assimilating the people and uniting them in a common cause. The Canadian method is stirring up in the hearts of the Canadians a spirit of jealousy, hatred and contempt towards these people of alien origin, and in the hearts of the aliens, fear and distrust of his fellow Canadians.

On the 23rd of May last the Unionists in Parliament voted down a motion of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's asking for the repeal of this legislation. Is this the policy that

commends the present Government to the "Herald"?

Patronage

Patronage should be abolished. Under the Union Government the patriot's reward is the probability of death, wounds, and certainty of sacrifice, all for \$1.10 per day; the partisan's reward is a seat in the Senate with an income of \$2,500.00 per annum. If you doubt my word ask William Harmer. The soldier who gives up an earning power of \$200.00 or \$250.00 per month for his country is requited with a pension of \$700.00 per annum; but R. A. Mulholland who gives up a nomination in Durham to J. Wesley Rowell receives a Senatorship worth \$2,500.00 a year, and W. S. Weldon, Conservative candidate in Montreal who retires for C. C. Ballantyne, is appointed Collector of Customs at Montreal. Does the "Herald" consider the sacrifice of Harmer, Mulholland or Weldon more worthy of reward than the sacrifices and services of returned soldiers?

Andrew G. Acres organized for the Unionists in the last Dominion election. In February, 1918, Postmaster Gouin of Ottawa was retired and Acres was made Postmaster. Under patronage as dispensed by either of the old political parties Acres would in this way have been sufficiently rewarded for the sacrifices he had made, but note the question put to the Government on the 3rd day of April last, and the reply of Mr. Sifton, Minister of Customs:

Q.—What commission, if any, did A. G. Acres, Postmaster at the City of Ottawa receive from the Government for the purchase by him for the Government, of the land situate on the north side of Wellington Street, and on the west side of Bank Street?
A.—\$22,260.42.

The Department of Militia recently imported a quantity of goods into Quebec, and Colley & Scott, Customs Brokers of that City were paid a fee of \$18,108.82 thereon. See Vol. 14, Auditors' General Report, ZZ, page 142.

Patronage is rampant. If no office is available for an applicant one is quickly created; thus when the Department of the Interior was really busy in allotting homesteads, and locating immigrants before the war, a single Minister, Hon. Frank Oliver, administered that department, and did it well. Now, when there is little homesteading being done, and few immigrants coming into the country, it is necessary by reason of Union Government to have two Ministers looking after these matters, and drawing full Ministers' pay, namely, Mr. Meighen as Conservative Unionist Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Calder as Liberal Unionist Minister of Immigration.

One Nichols, a half-brother of Sir Thomas White, Minister of Finance, edited the Montreal Daily Mail and Evening News, in the interests of the Unionists during the last Election campaign. Owing to that newspaper venture not proving a success Nichols was obliged to look for another job. There was no Government position with a large salary available at the time so that the office of director of Public Information was created and he was appointed thereto at a salary of \$5,000.00 per annum.

Without patronage the Unionist Government would be like Hamlet without the ghost, or MacBeth without the witches.

Partisanship

A single illustration will serve to prove the servile partisanship that is adhered to by Unionists to-day.

When the resolution in favor of abolishing titles in Canada was before the House during the last Session it was supported, by many strong speeches by Unionists, but on the 21st day of May, 1918, Sir Robert no doubt endeared himself to the "Herald" by the speech which he made on that occasion, when he opposed vigorously the abolition of titles and said:—"If the House does not propose to accept the course which I have asked them, frankly and with much respect to take, I should consider that I am relieved from my duty of carrying on any longer the Government of this country and I should ask His Excellency the Governor-General to seek other advisers." At the crack of the whip his servile followers all fell in line.

If the commendable points of a Government consist in creating discord, promoting patronage and strengthening partisanship no doubt the present Government will appeal to the Herald as being "the best Government that Canada has ever had." Possibly, however, some of its readers look for points other than these, and thanks to the efforts of a few democrats the number is increasing every day.

Geo. H. Ross.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL OPPOSITION BETWEEN SYNDICALISM AND SOCIALISM

By Angus Lyell

Socialism is an evolutionary doctrine, built on growth of knowledge and freedom of action. Its object is the well-being of all. It does not seek to legislate in the interests of a section of the community, but on behalf of the whole community. On the contrary, syndicalism, industrial unionism, or whatever you may call it, is "class" legislation, pure and simple. Its advocates call on the workers to unite, but for what purpose? That better conditions may be obtained for all mankind? No. What then? That, acting in combination, these particular workmen may cripple and defeat what they term capitalism and then appropriate certain means of production and distribution. But such appropriation, were it possible, which it is not, would not lead to happier social conditions from a national standpoint; for the aim of syndicalism is that the workers in each industry should own and operate that industry, in this way abolishing the wage system.

Herein is the fundamental difference between socialism and syndicalism. Socialism advocates public ownership not in the interests of a section of the community—not alone in the interests of the miners, or the railwaymen, or the sailors—but in the interests of all the people. It recognizes the fact that, until a majority of the people understand and believe its principles, their application, were such possible, would prove a sorry failure. Socialism is really an educational force. It has had little to do, for example, with the tragedy of Russia—an object lesson to the whole world.

Not so syndicalism—bolshhevism—which advocates the direct method, the paralyzing of society by cessation of work and even bloodshed. But even were such method to deal the death blow to capitalism, one might well ask: How does the syndicalist propose to rebuild? However, it is hardly likely that capitalism could be absolutely overthrown by the methods of syndicalism, even if pushed to the extreme limit, because counter revolution would follow revolution. Then there would be reaction. Trades Unions would likely be dissolved as "criminal conspiracies" and the liberty of the individual be much restricted. It is the existing system that controls the government and makes the laws, and untrained, unarmed men cannot well overcome soldiers. The direct action of the strike is hardly likely to usher in the millennium. In many ways, such action is futile. Advance in national well-being comes from education and sane progressive legislation. The big British railway strike of pre-war days was a failure from the pecuniary point of view of the strikers; as, also, the miners' strike. But both gigantic industrial upheavals are valuable in economic study, as they teach the futility of the strike method of advance.

But it may be contended that I misrepresent the ideals of syndicalism, separating these as I do from the ideals of socialism. Here, then, is the definition of syndicalism given by Mr. E. J. B. Allen, one of the dearest exponents of the doctrine in Great Britain: "Industrial Unionism is a State within a State—the industrial union organization—will be the embryo of a working class republic. Our national unions and local unions will be the administrative machinery of an Industrial Republic. The industrial union is designed

to become the most powerful instrument in the class struggle—which power reaches its highest expression in the complete paralysis of the whole of the normal functions of capitalist society by means of the general strike. State ownership is as big a foe as the private exploiter."

You will note here that it is acknowledged state ownership is as big a foe to syndicalism as is capitalism. Now, state ownership being legislation in the interests of all the people, it follows that syndicalism is not, since it is opposed to state ownership. Syndicalism is but legislation—appropriation is more correct—in the interests of a section of the community. It is just another form of capitalism. "Workers of the world unite," cried Marx. "Here and now unite," echo the syndicalist, "obliterating all sectional distinctions; recognizing the class war, responding with new ardor to the Marxian appeal and through the sympathetic and ultimately the general strike paralyzing, and thus overthrowing, the capitalist society. On the ruins of this society we will establish a state of things in which the miners shall own and control the mines, the railwaymen the railroads, the factory-hands the factories, and so on. In such a society your Parliament and your local administrations would be relegated to the museums of antiquity, for they would be useless in practical life. In such a society the administration of things in contradistinction to the government of persons would be the nexus of communal life."

No; syndicalism will not do. The mines do not belong, by natural right, to the miners, or the railways to the railwaymen, or the ships to the sailors. Things necessary to the life of a people do not, and should not, belong to a section of that people, but should be utilized in whatever way will confer the greatest benefit on all. The strike is an antiquated weapon, and we are having enough of the barricade. Progress is not along these lines. Progress is the conscious action and expression of an enlightened people. Change, to be lasting and beneficial, must receive the sanction of a big majority of the people. But while socialism appeals to sentiment, religion, or reason, syndicalism appeals to neither. While the two may meet at one point, that of the organization of the workers, they cannot co-operate; for the object of socialism is the welding together of humanity into one harmonious whole, while that of syndicalism is disruption, anarchy, conflict.

* * *

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The Danger of Tax-Exemption

THE MENACE OF "X"

Mr. J. W. Killam has written a very able letter to Canada's Minister of Finance against the tax-free Victory Bonds about to be issued. In order that the danger of this method of finance may be placed before the people of Canada Mr. Killam has forwarded to every publication in Canada a copy of his letter to the Honorable Minister of Finance. We regret that space does not permit us to give Mr. Killam's letter in full, but the following extracts will show the class privilege implied in the Government's method, the danger to the well-being of Canada, and also the timely wisdom of Mr. Killam:—

"Wise and sound decision as to financial policy is a vital and fundamental necessity to the welfare of our country, and should have regard not only to the demands of the moment but to its effect upon the future economic life of Canada.

"That the tax-exempt war bond is fundamentally injurious to the economic life of Canada, is the prevailing opinion of those competent to judge of its nature and effects. In your statement, published in the press on August 14th, you say:

"It is remarkable and most creditable to Canada that our securities stand so firmly on a $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis."

"The present 'basis' of our premier securities is not, as you erroneously announce, ' $5\frac{1}{2}$ %, but $5\frac{1}{2}$ % plus the 'x' of tax-exemption, an unknown factor. But, whatever the value of this unknown factor, it should not be attached to the terms of any future borrowing by the Government of Canada until it is fully ascertained and declared.

"I need hardly remind you that the cost of money borrowed by provincial governments, cities, municipalities, public utilities, industries, farmers, merchants, and others, is from one-half per cent. to three per cent. more than the basis fixed by the Government of Canada for its loans. The more the Government pays the more everybody has to pay. It is, therefore, clearly your fundamental duty so to direct the finances of the country that you may obtain all the money required by the Government at the lowest possible cost, present and future, until maturity, and all the force and power of the Government and the people should be directed to making this cost as low as may be reasonably possible.

"The Secretary of the United States Treasury is reported to have recently said, in reference to interest rates:

"The public should realize that if the rate were raised they should simply be lifting themselves by their own boot straps. If interest rates were to be increased, it would mean just that much more burden on the American people. The situation should be kept sound by stabilizing the rate. It is to the interest of the people, banker and business man, because if the Government raises its bid for money, then all industry will have to pay proportionately more for new capital."

"The sale of bonds carrying unrestricted exemption from taxes is extravagant and unsound. Any additional price that may be realized for such tax-exempt securities cannot offset more than, at most, a quarter or a third of the direct loss arising from this method of finance.

"You say:

"The Government securities should have priority of market and any special additional advantage which can be given to them."

"This applies only to the protection of the supply of money, not to the price paid for it. If the money be in the country, the Government can obtain all the money it requires at a fair rate of interest. If the money be not in the country, it cannot be obtained at any price. Priority of market, restriction of imports of luxuries, foreign investments, and non-essential production are among the very effective means which have been adopted by different countries, at different stages during the war, with a view to practical elimination of competition with Government borrowing.

"In Great Britain the income tax and super-tax are effective methods of obtaining revenue from lenders of money. Inadvertently our Government is about to make these taxes, in effect, not taxes on the lenders of money, but taxes on the borrowers of money, and has thereby set a dangerous precedent, which, unless firmly checked at once, will cause serious loss to the Dominion Treasury and unnecessary hardship to borrowers and producers of all classes throughout the Dominion.

"Our national security must have the same value in the hands of every individual Canadian, no matter what may be the extent of his personal estate. The people of Canada desire a graduated income tax to be effectively enforced. Continuation of the issue of tax-exempt bonds is calculated to nullify the graduated income tax.

"This matter is too serious to brook silence or delay.

"For the revenue necessary to pay off our accumulated war debts and for the exports essential to the discharge of our external obligations we must depend almost wholly upon the development of our agricultural and other natural and industrial resources. Any financial policy which will retard this development must at all costs be avoided. From your statement I do not think you appreciate this fact. You say:

"I do not for a moment believe that enterprising citizens, in a country with such possibilities as ours, will be deterred from engaging in business or industrial activities because they can invest in tax-free Dominion securities yielding a comparatively low rate of interest."

"Many of our citizens are calling in their mortgage loans and selling out their municipal and industrial securities, and may do so to an even more serious extent because of the opportunity they have to invest in tax-free Dominion securities yielding a comparatively high rate of interest, viz., $5\frac{1}{2}$ % plus 'x'. In many individual cases 'x' amounts to 5% and even 10%, making a total investment return of 10% or 15% on Dominion Government securities.

"The fact must be faced that industrial and agricultural development will be checked and suppressed very materially until such time as the proposed great mass of 15-year $5\frac{1}{2}$ % non-callable tax-exempt bonds—which you are about to offer not only for new money, but to offer under conversion rights to the extent of some \$350,000,000 more of the first and fourth loans of earlier maturities—have advanced in market price to a premium of some 15% from the issue price. That is, before this millstone is removed from the neck of industry, there must be an appreciation in market value from the price obtained by the Government on bonds now outstanding and to be issued under the

Continued on page 14

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LIFE AND WORK

WHAT WE MEAN BY DEMOCRACY

This term "Democracy" is perhaps the most used and most misunderstood of all terms in the English language. It stands for that state of society pictured by the gifted seers of history, as well it serves as a slogan for the cheapest politician; it is at once the battle cry of the war bond and the hope of the disinherited masses. Obviously democracy to a war lord must mean something different from that democracy which forms the concept of the working man, and for this if for no other reason we must strive to discover and state what we mean by democracy. But there is a greater reason why we must interpret democracy in a practical way, and that is because it was for the sake of democracy that our brothers have given their lives.

When this war broke out the people of the allied countries were not in the spirit of war, they hesitated before engaging in the slaughter of their fellows. It was necessary therefore to create a war psychology, and in order to accomplish this both negative and positive means were adopted by the spokesmen and publicists of the nations. The negative means took the form of playing upon atrocities real and imaginary with a view to stirring up hate against the enemy, but had we possessed no greater dynamic than that of hate we would have failed in raising the morale of our peoples. Happily the positive note was struck; our cherished ideals were democratic; a victorious German militarism would mean the overthrow, temporarily at least, of democracy. Our military and political leaders therefore interpreted the war in terms of the ideals of the people by proclaiming that we were fighting for democracy.

In response to the democratic appeal millions have given their lives freely, leaving to the care of the living the noble cause for which they died. It therefore becomes the duty and privilege of those living to distinguish if necessary between the democracy as understood by war lords and politicians and that ideal which was the soldiers' guiding star to Flanders; to translate into practical action the lofty declarations of those who have made democracy the issue of the war.

To secure united effort on the part of the people in reaping the fruits of victory, it becomes imperative to put some definite and practical con-

tent into the term democracy which is generally used in a loose and abstract sense. By democracy we surely do not mean that simple form of government practiced by the ancient Greeks. Their states were so small that all the people could collect at a certain point and settle the business without the necessity for organization or delegated authority. But as H. G. Wells says, the Greek idea of democracy bears the same relation to the modern concept as the anatomy of a jelly-fish does to the human organism. In our exceedingly complicated civilization we must have a democracy that will correspond with it in development, and thus be practicable and serviceable.

The democracy which we have although, perhaps, as good as we are prepared for is very unsatisfactory as expressed in our economic social and political life. We do not mean that millions of men have died simply that we might be allowed to continue our unspeakable corruption in public life, or to maintain a plutocracy at the expense of the worker, or to see slums develop opposite the mansions of wealth. We cannot surely mean that we have been fighting for the continuation of this; democracy must mean something different.

Most of us are likely to be thinking of an ideal democracy, and some people think that such will come to pass as soon as the war ends. Indeed the ideal is the main thing but will only be attained to the extent that we are practical and efficient. Democracy is as difficult to realize as it is to define. It is not a definitely conceived form of government; we cannot prescribe its size, form, and precise function as minutely as we could plan for and explain a house, or a suit of clothes; we cannot order democracy as we would our groceries. This idea is one of the most popular fallacies and needs to be exploded.

The American Republic ordered democracy in this way by its declaration of Independence, and while we may find many encouraging features in that country there are many abuses incompatible with the democracy as stated in the historic declaration. Russia too comes next with its democracy made to order by the revolutionary idealists with the painful results with which we are familiar. In the face of this and other historic examples we need look for no cataclysmic deliverance from our difficulties. It is enough for the people of Canada to remember that

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we have much to do to make a democracy worth fighting for.

Democracy is a spirit or principle of freedom, of self-government, and of justice that is working itself out in the history of the race. We may make declarations of our ideals, or make a government to order if you please, but if these are going to work they must be a full and free expression of the spirit of the people as a whole. Thus the privileges of democracy are equalled only by its imperative demand for fitness on the part of its citizens. If democracy has come slowly in the history of Canada its speed has been set by the intellectual and moral limitations of the people.

We will do the best reconstruction by frankly recognizing the nature of our problem, with our eyes open to the conditions of a democratic nation. True democracy is coming, but not the day after peace is declared. It is coming as slowly as the oak grows, but as irresistibly as the glaciers that crept across this mighty continent in the ages past. It will come, but no faster and no better than we are able to build. Our duty is to see that every brick that is put into the construction of our coming social order, will go toward building that structure of our ideal.

THE MENACE OF "X"

Continued from page 12

proposed terms of the forthcoming loan without any regard whatever to the loan which will have to be made in 1919, of perhaps \$175,000,000, provided the great majority of our inexperienced small investors shall become fully informed of the respective real values of the five and fifteen-year bonds, and of the valuable conversion rights attached to their holdings of the five-year bonds of last year's loan.

"The spending of our \$100,000,000 of 8% notes which mature in New York on Oct. 1st, 1919, should be accomplished with bonds which are taxable if owned in Canada. \$25,000,000 of 5% bonds mature in New York on April 1st, 1925; \$256,000,000 additional 5% taxable bonds of which \$50,000,000 were issued in New York and are partially held in Canada, should either remain at 5% plus 'x' or be offered conversion into 5½% taxable bonds. Of the \$545,000,000 outstanding 5½% tax-exempt bonds, \$230,000,000 mature in 1922, and it is important that these should also be refunded by taxable bonds.

"It is thus apparent that the most important obstacle to the reduction of the value or the elimination of 'x' lies in the existence of \$69,000,000 of 5½% bonds due 1927, and \$246,000,000 of 5½% bonds due 1937. These bonds have been sold and the tax-exemption privilege cannot be repudiated. The menace of 'x' lies in the existence of this large issue of 20-year bonds and the proposed offering of \$500,000,000 of 15-year bonds with the attendant conversion privilege, which under the terms of the respective issues must be thrown open to at least \$51,000,000 of 5% bonds due in 1925 and \$230,000,000 of 5½% bonds due 1922 and \$69,000,000 of 5½% bonds due 1927.

"If \$500,000,000 of 15-year 5½% tax-exempt bonds are offered in November we may then have outstanding about one billion dollars of 15- and 20-year 5½% non-callable tax-exempt bonds. This would make it almost impossible thereafter economically to change our war loan policy to the basis of taxable bonds.

"The Australian people have subscribed for fully as many bonds per capita as the Canadian people, at the price of par and at 4½% tax-exempt, and their Government, recognizing the error of the policy of tax-exemption in Government finance, has now adopted the policy of financing by the issue of 5% taxable securities.

"In respect of the annual interest, approximately \$40,000,000 on \$750,000,000 of domestic issues now outstanding, you say:

" 'It is extremely improbable that we should derive more than \$1,000,000 or at most \$1,500,000, additional revenue from the taxation of income derived from this body of securities.'

"You estimate, therefore, that on every \$40,000,000 of annual interest income of the people of Canada only \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000—or 2½% to 3¾%—can be collected under the Income Tax Act. If this estimate be correct then it conclusively proves that the amount which will be derived from the income tax is totally inadequate for our needs, and this fact constitutes a strong argument against excepting the interest on the bonds from its incidence and in favor of increasing the rate.

"A vitally important, fair, and effective means for securing war revenue is available in a graduated income tax, provided that each and every one of us is made to contribute justly and fairly, according to

his respective ability, a liberal portion of his current income.

"In your statement to the Canadian press on August 5th, you informed the Canadian people that they have 'been able as a nation, not only to earn the entire cost of the war to date, but to make a very large national increase in wealth as well.' How much of these earnings and this increased national wealth has been appropriated by the Government and used to defray the cost of the war? The Director of Public Information in a recent statement points out that, during the two fiscal years to March 31st, 1918, there has been applied to war expenditures, by way of surplus of revenue over ordinary and capital outlays, the sum of \$113,000,000.

"This amount is probably less than our country will have to face each single year, beginning 1920, for interest and pensions alone.

"It is quite evident, therefore, that the provision for war expenditure from the incomes of our people has to date been far too small and must be increased, not only in justice to our army, but as a necessary measure for the protection of the future economic welfare of our whole people.

"Our Government policy in war finance should have been to issue our domestic loans to our own people, fully taxable at a rate of interest fixed after careful deliberation. The following matters should have been carefully considered:—

"1. The rate of interest paid by our chartered banks for deposits—the Government's only real and tangible competitor—having regard to the large sums of money involved.

"2. The compensation which should reasonably be paid by way of extra interest for the use of money by the Government for a period of years as against the interest paid on demand or short-time deposits.

"3. The standard so fixed as the 'yield' or 'basis' of Government bonds vitally affects the values of all real estate, securities, and other property throughout the country, and whatever rate be so fixed must have an important and fundamental influence upon the industrial productive activities of the country for many years to come.

"4. It is not necessary to make interest rates unduly high in order to restrict non-essential production, other measures having been generally adopted, and with success, by belligerent countries.

"5. An unduly high standard or scale of interest rates will cause hardship to insurance companies, financial institutions and individuals with large holdings of long-term securities accumulated prior to the war.

"6. The Government should reserve power to facilitate its own refunding operations at lower interest rates after the war, by retaining the right to call at par any or all outstanding bonds at any convenient time after termination of the war.

"7. Government finance should be carried out with economy, and without fear of market conditions, external or internal.

"8. Market and other conditions must be made to defer to Government finance and mould themselves to meet the Government requirements.

"If this had been done, there can be no question that all our war bonds could have been sold to our people at a rate to yield not exceeding 5½%. Tax-exemption was not demanded; on the contrary, no income-tax measure had been enacted

until after our first three loans, and even during the fourth many did not realize that the interest was tax exempt when they subscribed to the bonds.

"Those who will be asked to lend to the Government are just as willing to pay income tax on their interest return of 5½% as they are to pay income tax on the 3% allowed them by our chartered banks.

"Tax-exemption is wrong. Two wrongs have never made a right. There is only one remedy for wrong, and that is to correct it. The cost of correction is small, the consequences of procrastination will be very great.

"All that is needed is courage and confidence on the part of the Government—courage to face the realities of the situation and confidence in the patriotism of the people."

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WHAT FARM WOMEN MUST DO ?

Mrs. Geo. Brodie, President of the United Farm Women of Ontario is, the Toronto Sun states, a witty yet forceful platform speaker and a clear thinker. In an address to 3,000 farmers and farmers' wives at Cayuga, she, stated when the women go to Ottawa they would get inside the Parliament Buildings, they would not stop outside and plead for admittance, and that to-day Ontario women are "bigger women" than ever before in the eyes of the politicians. And herein lies a danger. What are 175,000 farmers' wives in Ontario? They are simply individuals without any means of formulating their wishes into a definite programme of legislation unless they have an organization. She did not want to see women tie themselves to any party. "Now is the time when we can break away from party and be nothing—and yet in the end be everything!"

They had advocated medical inspection in schools and were likely to get it. The present rural educational system was absurd and must be revised. The new minister of education, Dr. Cody, had stated he was going to revise it but being a city man his revision would be from

a city standpoint unless they could tell him what was wanted and how to have it. Technical training was wanted all through the country districts as in the cities and towns.

Another task for farm women to organize and work for was a campaign for democracy. They needed to educate themselves in the spirit of democracy, for in Canada to-day they had the form of democracy but the spirit of autocracy. Women could vote in Ontario elections but contrary to general impression the Dominion franchise was not yet achieved. While there is a provision for this on the statute books it is nullified by the Wartime Elections Act. Women should resist compulsory military training in schools for militarism was the most abominable evil in the world, the same in Canada as in Germany. "If this is to be the last war women must see to it that it is."

If the Kaiser had been a Mennonite there would have been no war.

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